General Introduction

Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows and the Rapidan Road each have distinct histories encompassing both pre-Park and National Park Service eras at Shenandoah National Park. Common themes, such as recreation, natural conservation, the impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and rustic architecture are found in more than one section. However, each of these sections that comprise the current boundary increase developed separately and each has a unique history.

Skyland

Introduction[43]

Skyland is a significant element of Shenandoah National Park, the first national park in the East. The entire park, and also the Skyland complex, is intimately connected to a number of important social, political, and design trends in the United States from the late 1880s through the 1940s. Skyland, a rustic resort complex perched on a west-facing slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, is a strongly evocative example of a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, middle-class summer vacation destination. It is an exemplary component in the development of recreation and leisure in

[43]This significance narrative deals in detail only with the built structures and landscape features of the Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows areas. For more information on historical resources in Shenandoah National Park, please see the National Register nomination for the Skyline Drive Historic District (1997), the district's boundary increase amendment (1997), and "Shenandoah National Park Historic Resources Study," prepared by Robinson & Associates, Inc., in association with EDAW, for the National Park Service (May 1997).

this country. Displaying rustic architecture and landscape features from both its initial establishment as a private resort camp under the direction of George Freeman Pollock in the late 1880s and through its seminal incorporation into the newly formed Shenandoah National Park in the 1930s, it provides strong insight into the development of the rustic camp architectural style and into National Park Service concepts of natural park designs that were developed to provide access to natural surroundings without detracting from them. Finally, during the Park development era, the Skyland complex was landscaped and its infrastructure was augmented using labor provided by one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal work relief programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps, connecting it to an important period of history.

Early Development of the Mountain Location[44]

The area now known as Skyland was initially mining land as early as the 1840s. Undeveloped at the time, a group of investors planned to mine the area for copper and use the heavily timbered land for smelting copper and producing charcoal. These investors, who were from Boston, New York City, and Washington, D.C., purchased 5,371 acres of land, known as the Stony Man Mountain Tract, in the Blue Ridge Mountains. Among the key stakeholders were Stephen M. Allen and George H. Pollock, a self-made man who was a relatively prosperous importer.[45] Soon after 1850, the mining had ceased, and local mountain residents used the then-cleared land to graze livestock and to harvest lumber from the remaining wooded areas.

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[44]Much of the information on Skyland's development is taken from the substantial draft National Register nomination for Skyland completed by Reed Engle in 1993.

[45]George Freeman Pollock, and Stuart E. Brown, Jr., ed., *Skyland: The Heart of Shenandoah National Park* (no city given: Chesapeake Book Company, 1960), 2.

Establishing Stony Man Camp and Initial Era of Construction

George H. Pollock's son, George Freeman Pollock, visited the tract of land in 1886 and was taken with the scenic views and vistas from the mountainside. He was 16 years old at the time and had a keen interest in taxidermy and a desire to be a naturalist. Young Pollock returned home with the notion to transform the area into a resort, capitalizing on the scenic quality of the area. Hoping to recoup some of his initial investment on the Stony Man Tract which had not produced income for years, the elder Pollock, along with two partners–Allen and Colonel John Bowles, a Washington real estate investor–bought out the shares of the other mine investors. They then set about attempting to interest potential resort-property purchasers in their tract of land.

During 1888 and 1889, two groups of potential lot buyers (mostly relatives and friends of the stakeholders) visited the site, and by the spring of the latter year, Allen, Bowles, and the elder Pollock had collected $3,000 in lot sales. Also during this time, the younger Pollock partnered with Harry English, a Washington, D.C., mathematics teacher, and Fletcher Kearney of Winchester, Virginia, to establish Kearney, English and Pollock, Millowners, Builders, and Contractors, a business founded to sell construction materials to those building resort cottages on the land. The threesome borrowed money and built a lumber mill on Dry Run, just below the resort area, which was then called Stony Man Camp. By the summer of 1889, the mill was functional, producing everything necessary for building purposes.[46]

The first cabin constructed at Stony Man Camp–and also the first order for Kearney, English and Pollock–was a cottage for R.J. Boyd of Washington, D.C. Located in the northern portion of the parcel of land on the western edge of the plateau, the cabin was eventually replaced by subsequent resort cabins.

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[46]Ibid., 24.

The construction of other cabins quickly followed. During the summer of 1890, two were built–one for Edward Spalding and the other for Colonel Lafayette Bingham. The same year Pollock constructed his own cottage, called Freeman's Cabin, in a grove of trees on the northwestern portion of the site. At approximately the same time, he also built a log stable for the resort horses and mules. The following year, Pollock fenced approximately125 acres to establish the boundaries of the resort, and also to contain livestock (which at one time included 40 horses, 20 dairy cows, several mules and pigs, and numerous chickens) and to keep other animals out of the resort.

Despite the initial interest of the site, building activity at Stony Man soon slowed, and in 1891 young Pollock was forced to take a job at Glen Echo Park in Maryland. It was here that he first met notable Washington architect Victor Mindeleff who was responsible for designing buildings at Glen Echo. Their relationship would later prove important as construction continued at Skyland.

In 1893, Pollock suffered a series of disastrous losses. He lost his job at Glen Echo as part of systematic layoffs. Both his father, George H. Pollock, and early investor Steven Allen died, leaving the finances and legal status of Stony Man in a state of confusion for the next decade. Finally, all of the buildings at the camp except one were destroyed by intentionally set fires. The fires were likely ignited by either burglars attempting to cover their crimes or by year-round residents of the areas surrounding Skyland who were angered by Pollock's refusal to let them cut trees on the property for lumber, fires, and tanning.[47]

Pollock Rebuilds Stony Man after the Fire

[47]Ibid., 43-44.

Despite these troubles, the following year, Pollock attempted to resurrect Stony Man Camp by hosting what he called "A Camping Party on Stony Man Mountain." He offered to provide guests with tents, chairs, wash stands, pitchers, cots, lanterns, linens, towels, and pillows, and a separate bathing tent was to be set up at Kettle Springs. Scheduled for July and August, the event was attended by 14 people, most of whom were friends and relatives of Pollock. They paid $9.50 each week for accommodations and meals.[48]

Pollock also provided nightly entertainment, and personally saw that each of his guests was enjoying his or her stay at Stony Man. Large campfires were an evening fixture, along with dances and singers. He guided nature hikes and horseback rides through the surrounding areas. And although guests were camping in tents, there was heated water for baths and mail was delivered daily.[49]

During this event Pollock established his first vegetable garden, which was 50' x 50' in size. Although he initially grew only potatoes, over decades the garden eventually expanded to over five acres and included a wide variety of native and exotic fruits and vegetables. In the years leading up to the turn of the century, clearing the land was undertaken not only for Pollock's garden, but also for 50 acres of pastureland for horses and cattle. A one-acre flower garden behind the original dining hall provided cut flowers for guests and social events.

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[48]Carolyn and Jack Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets: The Story of the Park's Hidden Past* (Washington, D.C.: The Potomac Appalachian Trail Club, 1991), 48.

[49]Pollock and Brown, 54.

Pollock's persistence paid off and, by 1902, most of the building sites overlooking the Shenandoah Valley along the western cliff edge of the plateau had been sold and developed, and cabins inward from the edge were also built. Also by this time, Pollock had changed the name of his resort to Skyland to avoid confusion with the already established Stony Man Post Office located in the valley. Much of this early development can be attributed to Pollock's thoughtful inclusion of visitor amenities and support facilities. There was a communal dining hall, and it was understood that guests were required to take all meals there–as this entrepreneurship was one of the ways that Pollock was able to continue making a profit off of Skyland after the lots were sold. Pollock took pride in obtaining the finest, freshest foods possible, and period menus reflect extravagant and extensive selections with such delicacies as lobster and oysters. By 1900, he added a recreation building and dance hall– known as Pastime Hall–and grass tennis courts.

Also during 1900, Pollock experienced an influx of money from the sale of several lots to investor Henry F. Brinton and a loan of several thousand dollars, also from Brinton. With this capital, Pollock erected an acetylene gas plant to light the dining hall, bath houses, kitchen, cabins, and grounds. The gas plant remained in use until 1920, when Pollock introduced electricity to his resort.

Until Skyline Drive was constructed, the only way to reach Skyland was to travel to Luray and then follow a dirt road for approximately six miles to the foot of Stony Man Mountain. From there, travelers could ride up to Skyland on rented horses, hire a driver to take them in a horse-drawn carriage, walk four rather strenuous miles, or–by the 1910s–drive a car to the resort.[50] The only extant road that predated Skyline Drive was a logging road established during the pre-resort era of Skyland and improved by Pollock.

Life at Skyland continued to be colorful due to the presence of Pollock himself. He awakened guests each morning with a bugle call. During the day, he led excursions, and at night he provided a range of entertainment. Theme parties and dinners, local Shenandoah musicians, and Pollock's own rattlesnake show became common festivities.

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[50]Reeder and Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets*, 48.

Skyland could not have been built or operated without the assistance of local mountain residents. They assisted Pollock in clearing land and constructing cabins. They worked at Skyland's stables, dining room, and kitchen. Some of them also came to observe or participate in Pollock's nightly entertainment. Skyland visitors took an interest in the well-being of the local people, constructing a new cabin for one family and supporting a school in nearby Nicholson Hollow. Doctors who summered at Skyland provided health care for some local people, and other visitors often brought packages of food and clothing for residents. All kitchen and dining room staff were African American, with many staff members also playing instruments in the camp band.[51]

During the early years of the twentieth century, numerous cabins were constructed at Skyland. The earliest had views of the Shenandoah Valley. These western lots were typically 150' deep and from 50' to 250' wide. The smallest lots were approximately one seventh of an acre. Cliff lots were slightly smaller, and set back about 15' from the logging road that became the major circulation artery.[52] Many of these cabins (alternately referred to as cottages or bungalows) were constructed by moderately well-to-do city dwellers who were looking to escape urban life during the summer. Most of the people were upper-middle-class merchants, professionals, civil servants, or educators active in state and local arenas. Many also had familial connections to other Skyland property owners or to Pollock himself. George Judd was a typical early resident. A prominent publisher and co-founder of Judd & Dettweiler, which was best known for his work with *The National Geographic*, and Orange-Judd, a prolific publisher of agricultural and horticultural books in the nineteenth century, he first

[51]Ibid., 51.

[52]National Park Service Cultural Resource Specialist Reed Engle notes that by court decree, original lots were to be one-fourth of an acre and sold for a minimum of $100.

visited Shenandoah during the summer of 1890, when he lived in a tent. Over the next 38 years, until his death, Judd constructed first a simple cabin, then a larger one. Eventually he purchased a total of 18 acres and created the elaborate Judd Gardens (see below, and Section 7).
After the initial buildings at Skyland burned in 1893, Pollock worked diligently to reestablish the resort, and new cabins were quickly constructed. He provided open space for social and communal events, but he also allowed remaining portions of the property to be densely developed. Pollock generally stipulated that cabins, cottages, and bungalows be constructed in the rustic style of either exposed logs or wood frame and covered with bark or shingles. After 1901, he abandoned the condition for wood shingles and instead required chestnut bark siding. Materials were either handmade or provided by the Kearney, English and Pollock Mill. Even after his mill venture failed, Pollock continued to require these materials because of their availability. Essentially, the cabins constructed were interpretations of the homes of local mountaineers and year-round residents. When more complex cabins were constructed, the end result was often only a more elaborate extension of the local vernacular.

Of the extant cabins, the largest and most architecturally notable is Massanutten Lodge. Constructed in 1911 for Addie Nairn Hunter according to designs by Victor Mindeleff, the cottage is situated on the overlook of a hill, slightly back from the edge of the plateau. However, spectacular views are still afforded from the cottage, which has recently undergone meticulous restoration. Also in 1911, Hunter married Pollock, illustrating the close personal relationships often found between Pollock and early Skyland guests and residents.[53] In addition to her relationship with Pollock, several of her first husband's relatives owned lots and cabins at Skyland.

[53]Addie Nairn Hunter was divorced prior to marrying George Pollock. Pollock's memoir, *Skyland*, does not mention this previous marriage, perhaps out of respect for his wife's privacy, and refers to her only as Addie Nairn.

Mindeleff (1860-1948) was a prominent Washington, D.C., architect who first met Pollock 20 years prior to designing Massanutten. Mindeleff, who was born in London, trained as an architect in Washington, D.C., and had a long and varied career. In addition to his talents as an architect, Mindeleff was also an accomplished watercolorist, gardener, and ethnologist. One of his earliest achievements was conducting an archeological study of Native American pueblo ruins in the southwestern United States. He then returned east and worked for the U.S. Life-Saving Service for approximately 20 years. In this role, he designed numerous life-saving stations–many of which were sheathed in shingles and featured towers–in Michigan, Maine, Virginia, and North Carolina. He later established an independent practice in Washington, where he focused on designing single-family homes in conjunction with their surrounding landscaped gardens. He was the president of the Washington chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1924 and 1925.[54] Mindeleff designed a cabin for himself at Skyland.[55] Known as Tryst-of-the-Wind, it was later purchased by George Judd and, after Judd and his wife died, was moved to a location just outside of the Shenandoah National Park boundary in ca. 1960.

After the early cabins, which had views to the valley, were constructed, the next area to be built on consisted of what Pollock termed "field lots," which were located north and east of the open recreation field. Trout Cabin was one of these, constructed by Mrs. Edith Burt Trout in 1909.

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[54]William Bushong, Judith Helm Robinson, and Julie Mueller, *A Centennial History of the Washington Chapter: The American Institute of Architects, 1887-1987*, (Washington, D.C.: The Washington Architectural Foundation Press, 1987), 143.

[55]It is possible that Mindeleff designed other Skyland cabins that are no longer extant.

Centrally located east of the open area and built on one of Skyland's largest lots, the cabin typifies the asymmetry of the early cabins. It was large by Skyland standards and is also the only extant cabin with a full attic.

Byrd's Nest (sometimes referred to as Bird's Nest) was constructed for the prominent Byrd family. The cabin is perhaps the best example of early Skyland architecture and remains largely unchanged from its original appearance. Constructed in 1906 for the Honorable Richard Byrd, Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, the cabin was regularly used by his sons–Tom Byrd, Admiral Richard Byrd, and United States Senator Harry Byrd. Speaker Byrd had a long and distinguished political career, in addition to serving as the Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, he was the also the Commonwealth Attorney of Frederick County, Virginia, and United States District Attorney, Western District of Virginia.

His sons were also accomplished men. Admiral Richard Evelyn Byrd, a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, was a renowned polar explorer and received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1926. U.S. Senator Harry Flood Byrd, like his father, is noted for his political career. He was also a member of the Virginia Senate and later the Governor of Virginia, and also was a prominent newspaper publisher. He purchased Byrd's Nest from his parents for $850 on July 21, 1913.[56]

Peak View Cabin was constructed for Katherine J. Gilman of Washington, D.C., in 1910. The following year, Pine Grove Cabin was constructed for Robinson Bosler of Philadelphia. Both were typical cabins, and the interiors of both were altered later to accommodate multiple lodging units.

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[56]Page County, Virginia Deed Book Number 68, page 191.

Eight years after the construction of Pine Grove, Vollmer Cabin (built for William Vollmer, also of Philadelphia) was modeled after Pine Grove.[57]

Whispering Pines Cabin (ca.1920) and Boulder Cabin (ca. 1925) both date from later Skyland development and display few of the unique rustic details common to the earlier cabins.

Grounds around many of the cottages were landscaped in complementary rustic or picturesque fashions. Since most of the plateau was exposed by the end of the century and a subsequent chestnut blight denuded remaining areas, homeowners attempted to create natural-looking surroundings. Addie Nairn Pollock planted areas around Massanutten Lodge, stating that "all pines and most of the trees were planted when young, and carefully raised on both the north and south sides of the house."[58] She also planted dahlias and cosmos, adding a flower border along the entrance path. Ferns, native shrubs, and flower borders were common features found in many cabin yards at Skyland. Massanutten Lodge, like many of the other cabins at Skyland, was fenced, likely in an effort to keep white-tail deer and cattle from destroying plant life. Historic images show a variety of fencing types and materials. Few of these historic fences survive today. However, other landscape features such as stone walls, gravel paths, and stairs around cottages are extant.

[57]Bosler owned 12 lots at Skyland and was responsible for the development of Pine Grove and Vollmer cabins.

[58]Quoted in Engle, Skyland National Register of Historic Places Draft Nomination, 1993.

The most impressive manmade landscape feature of Skyland was Judd Gardens. Installed by Julianna Judd, wife of George Judd (who first camped at Skyland in 1890), the gardens eventually became the centerpiece of their 18-acre Skyland property. The gardens featured an impressive mix of native species mingled with exotic plants introduced by Mrs. Judd, and required numerous gardeners to maintain. Although Judd Gardens has been altered and diminished, it still comprises a sizable piece of land (4.45 acres) at Skyland, and original plantings–most notably introduced species–are visible.[59]

Early Spas and Resorts

Skyland holds a unique place in American recreational history as an early upper middle-class resort. Skyland is exemplary of the type of resort that was popular in the late nineteenth century, where well-to-do people who desired to escape cities during the summer months could go to experience nature while living in relative comfort with people of similar social standing. While undoubtably influenced by other resort and recreational activities of roughly the same time period, Skyland is distinct from the other two prominent types of vacation venues for the wealthy of the same era: spa springs and coastal resorts.

Skyland's Place in the History of American Resorts

[59]For a detailed description and analysis of Judd Gardens, see *Judd Gardens Cultural Landscape Report*, completed by Land and Community Associates, December 1993.

Up until the time that Pollock developed Skyland, many resorts in Virginia and around the nation were spas that centered around springs thought to provide health benefits to those that took the waters. While some guests came to the spas to treat chronic illnesses such as tuberculosis, others came only to relax. An added benefit of the spa's cooler mountain locales was the absence of yellow fever and cholera–two diseases associated with warmer and/or urban areas. Typical guests were usually wealthy southerners–the social elite–seeking to escape the oppressive summer heat. After traveling long distances, they usually remained at the mountain spas throughout the summer months. Railroad expansion, namely the Shenandoah Valley Railroad line, made it easier for guests to reach the somewhat isolated mountain resorts.[60] In 1830, Black Rock Springs Hotel (located south of current Route 33 in Virginia) was constructed; it is thought to be the first establishment to capitalize on the recreational potential of the Blue Ridge Mountains.[61]

Around the turn of the century, when Skyland was experiencing a surge in popularity accompanied by respectable amounts of new construction, spas experienced a decline in popularity that actually had its roots in the outcome of the Civil War. Social structures in the south changed, with fewer people having their former extensive wealth. Also, medical treatment for diseases improved, making the spas unnecessary for those that actually sought medical treatment there. A bit later, the beginning of the automobile age in the early part of the century gave people unprecedented mobility to travel

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[60]Stan Cohen, *Historic Springs of the Virginia: A Pictorial History* (Charleston, West Virginia: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1987), vi-vii.

[61]"Cultural Landscapes Inventory 2001," 1: 11.

wherever they pleased without relying on railroad systems, and summering at spas fell out of fashion.[62]

[62]Ibid., vii.

Developing concurrently with the spas and slightly before Skyland's most robust period were numerous coastal resorts for wealthy people who had made their fortunes during America's Industrial Revolution. Such resorts were luxurious, providing all of the extravagant comforts of home to which the wealthiest Americans at the time were accustomed. Most were located along the Atlantic seacoast in places such as Bar Harbor, Maine; Newport, Rhode Island; South Hampton, New York; Cape May, New Jersey; and Palm Beach, Florida. Lesser numbers were constructed around inland scenic areas, or sites that purported to offer health benefits, such as the spas and springs mentioned above. These resorts include the Catskills in New York, the Berkshire Mountains in Massachusetts, the Pocono Mountains in Pennsylvania, and Warm Springs in Georgia. While some of these resorts catered to the extremely wealthy, most were populated with the growing upper-middle class who had recently made their fortunes of the profits of the industrial revolution. By spending time at these resorts, guests were likely to encounter friends and acquaintances, and to meet new people who shared similar lifestyles and social and cultural values. Unlike public tourist attractions, resorts were able to control the type of guests who vacationed there. "Therefore men clustered with their own kind . . . to be able to sustain one another by common attitudes, habit, and knowledge. . . . Here neighborliness prevailed and the opinion of the community disciplined disorderly elements or excluded outsiders."[63] Skyland flourished amid such a national climate.

Skyland was both similar to and distinct from other resorts in its various aspects. Pollock's guests who were middle-class professionals generally maintained year-round homes in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Skyland provided a cultured, yet affordable location for guests to vacation or own their own cabin. It combined many of the features that its target audience found desirable: the security of knowing that fellow travelers would be like-minded and like-monied, and an escape from city life with the opportunity to commune with nature, but in not-too-primitive conditions. Although not centered around a spring or coastal area, Skyland did capitalize on a nationwide popular interest in nature.

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[63]Oscar Handlin, *The Americans* (Boston: no publisher given, 1963), 284.

Methodist Camp Meetings and the Chautauqua Institution

Rooted in similar back-to-nature movements, but coupled with spiritual associations, were Methodist church camps and the subsequent Chautauqua Movement. Church camps were first established in the 1850s as outgrowth of earlier revival meetings, and were a combination of religion and religious entertainment with a large social gathering in a natural environment. At these early camps, buildings were usually temporary–often featuring tents–and the grounds were arranged in an informal manner. After the Civil War, the camp meeting grounds essentially became summer religious resorts. Like the spas of the same era, they were accessible by rail from major urban areas, and they provided rustic yet convenient amenities. These post-war camps were thoughtfully laid out, and permanent structures became the norm. Rustic cabins were constructed and families (or at least mothers and children) would spend entire summers participating in church-focused activities. In addition to the religious teaching, the camps–like other secular resorts–offered the opportunity to escape cities and relax in a natural environment.[64]

Over time, the religious components of the church camps gradually decreased, and other cultural and educational programs became popular. Much of the shift can be credited to the Chautauqua Institution, an assembly founded in western New York in 1874 to further the education of Methodist Sunday school teachers. The program was offered in the style of a camp meeting in a similarly appealing natural setting. As the Chautauqua Institution's scope broadened in the 1870s and 1880s, it became widely acclaimed for its unique blend of cultural and educational programs, and subsequently

[64]Ray Mckinzie Goodrow, *From Sacred Space to Suburban Retreat: The Evolution of the American Camp Meeting Ground,* Master of Architectural History Thesis, University of Virginia, 1994.

became widely imitated by the 1890s. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC) was established to provide college-level educational courses to persons unable to attend a university, and to promote continued learning for those graduating from colleges. Many CLSCs served as centers for lectures on the virtues of temperance and social problems of the era, striving for the goals of spiritual enlightenment and intellectual self-improvement. Like the secular and recreation-oriented resorts of the era, the natural setting was a key factor in attracting participants.[65] Glen Echo, where George Freeman Pollock worked and subsequently met Victor Mindeleff, began as a Chautauqua, assuring that Pollock was familiar with the hallmarks of the movement.

A National Interest in Nature

Skyland flourished not only because of the growing middle class, but also because of America's new interest in and appreciation of popular literature that exalted the beauty of nature. During the mid-nineteenth century, writers such as Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and John Muir wrote not only on the beauty of nature, but also on the virtues of camping in the outdoors for extended periods of time. Paralleling this trend was the continued tradition of American landscape painting in the picturesque tradition. Natural rusticity was captured by artists such as Thomas Moran, Albert Bierstadt, Winslow Homer, and Asher Durand, and only spurred the interest in exploring and experiencing nature.

[65] Ibid.

Perhaps the most popular nature writer of the era was John Burroughs, who wrote numerous books as well as essays published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. In addition to capturing the essence of nature in his writing, Burroughs was unencumbered by much of the transcendental philosophical themes that impeded the works of Thoreau and others from appealing to the mass public. Burroughs used humor, and also talked of the relationship of man to nature, attempting to live in harmony with the universe, rather than living in isolation in nature, as other contemporary writers viewed themselves.[66]

The Role of Skyland in the Establishment of Shenandoah National Park

As Skyland was flourishing as a resort, Stephen T. Mather, Director of the National Park Service, suggested in his 1923 Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior that a national park be established in the eastern United States, possibly in a "typical section" of the Appalachian Mountains. The following year, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work acted on Mather's idea and appointed the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee to study and recommend potential sites for a park. After reading a Washington *Star* article regarding the committee's search, Harold Allen, a frequent guest at Skyland, sent the newspaper clipping to Pollock with the words "Why not Skyland?" written on the page.[67]

Although Pollock did not respond, Allen remained persistent. When he learned that the committee believed that there were no appropriate sites north of the Smoky Mountains, he obtained a copy of the committee's site selection questionnaire, and with the help of Pollock and George Judd,

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[66]Engle, Skyland National Register of Historic Places Draft Nomination, 1993.

[67]Ibid.

completed the form during a visit to Skyland during 1924. He then returned the questionnaire to the committee in Washington.

Pollock subsequently focused his energy on improving the areas in and around Skyland in an effort to boost the appeal of his Blue Ridge location. Pollock was also concerned that government intervention was necessary due to the extensive chestnut blight that decimated the trees at Skyland, resulting in a serious fire hazard. He did all of this not only in the hope of promoting himself and his resort, but also because he wished to see the preservation of his beloved Skyland and the surrounding Blue Ridge for future generations.[68]

Unbeknownst to the Skyland boosters, 13 county organizations from around the Shenandoah area had formed Shenandoah Valley, Inc. (SVI), to promote Massanutten Mountain as the site for the new park. However, Pollock and Allen were able to persuade the group to change their allegiance and recommend the Skyland site. With $10,000 from SVI, Pollock built new trails and observation towers, and offered up his resort as a place where organizations promoting the Blue Ridge could entertain–and hopefully impress–key decision makers in the park designation process. L. Ferdinand Zerkel, an active member of SVI was able to influence the selection committee, resulting in their recommendation in December 1924 that the "Blue Ridge of Virginia [was] the outstanding and logical place for the establishment of the first new national park in the eastern section of the United States."[69]

The Shenandoah National Park Association was created in the summer of 1925 to lobby for the passage of park legislation and to raise funds for land acquisition by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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[68]Reeder and Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets*, 51-52.

[69]Engle, Skyland National Register of Historic Places Draft Nomination, 1993.

Later, in 1927, a plan that would allow Virginia to condemn and purchase land that would then be donated to the United States government for the park was proposed. Zerkel was chosen to coordinate with local residents and assist in their relocation. This proved to be an exceedingly slow process, with many families not relocated until 1935. In December of that year, Virginia turned the land over to the Federal government, and Shenandoah National Park was formally dedicated on July 3, 1936, with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt speaking before a crowd of 5,000 at Big Meadows.

Pollock's property–as well as others at Skyland– was condemned by the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1930. Pollock was forced to hand the operation of Skyland over to the Virginia Sky-Line Company, Inc., the park's new concessionaire, in January 1937. However, the Pollocks retained life tenancy and continued to live at Skyland until their deaths, Addie in 1944 and George in 1949. His ashes were scattered at the head of Kettle Canyon,[70] and in 1951 a peak near Skyland was named Pollock's Knob in his honor.

During the 1930s, prior to Pollock's sale of his interest of Skyland, many changes at the resort occurred in response to its new role in the proposed park. In 1931, the National Park Service announced plans for Skyline Drive, a 106-mile road running north-south through the new park; the groundbreaking was at Skyland in 1931 and was completed by 1933. Pollock's Skyland was now an integral part of the public's recreation experience, and therefore circulation patterns and buildings had to be altered to meet the demands of new users.

A loop road around the open field was extended to meet Skyline Drive, and Pastime Hall and Wayside Cabin were removed to accommodate this alteration. Areas surrounding Massanutten Lodge and Fell Cabin and several other cabins were also altered as vegetation was cleared for the new roadbed. Other cottages and outbuildings were removed because of their severely deteriorated

[70]John A. Conners, *Shenandoah National Park: An Interpretive Guide* (Blacksburg, Virginia: The McDonald & Woodward Publishing Company, 1988), 148.

conditions and/or their unsuitability for public accommodations. Assisting in much of the new infrastructure work during the 1930s was the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The Civilian Conservation Corps at Skyland[71]

In May 1933, the first Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp to be established in a national park was opened at Skyland. Organized in response to the Great Depression, the CCC (originally known as the Emergency Conservation Work or ECW) employed young men in America's national parks and forests. Workers were required to be between 18 and 25 years old and unmarried. Much of the work was manual labor and consisted of improving these shared national lands for the overall enjoyment by society.[72]

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[71]For an intensive review of the Civilian Conservation Corps and their work in Shenandoah National Park, see Reed L. Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful* (Luray, Virginia: Shenandoah National Park Association, 1999). SNPA was formerly known as the Shenandoah Natural History Association.

[72]Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful*, 20-22.

Emergency Conservation Work was designed as a Depression economic stimulus. But unlike the initial Roosevelt quick-fix welfare programs, this relief program incorporated a required work element intended to improve, support, and develop national, state, and local parks and forests. The program aimed to use the muscles of the nation's unemployed young men to improve cultural and natural resources and to keep idle boys busy. The $25.00 of the recruits' $30.00 monthly salary that was automatically deducted and sent to their families at home was a source of pride to the boys–it was not a handout; it was earned.[73]

[73]Ibid., 24

In early April 1933, the government asked National Forest and National Park Superintendents to submit proposed sites and programs for Emergency Conservation Work. At that time, the only land at Shenandoah owned by the government was Skyline Drive and Skyland. Furthermore, Shenandoah would not become a national park for two and one-half more years and therefore lacked a superintendent. However, J.K. Lassiter, the Chief Engineer of Skyline Drive, submitted a proposal for potential ECW projects at Shenandoah, and by the end of the month, two sites–Skyland and Big Meadows–were selected as the locations for the first CCC camps in national parks.[74]

Skyland's CCC camp was known as Camp George H. Dern (NP-1), and was assembled within three weeks. It was located close to the east side of Skyline Drive south of Timber Hollow Overlook, about a mile south of Skyland. Men were initially housed in reused surplus World War I tents, and latrines and kitchens were also previously used. Within a few months, several permanent buildings were constructed.[75] A mess hall/kitchen and a washroom/privy, both of frame construction, were built. These early frame buildings were rare within the ECW in that they were individually designed and built using traditional framing techniques. By the following year, the ECW had standardized buildings that used prefabricated modular panels. The panels were shipped by rail or truck and assembled on

[74]Ibid., 30.

[75]None of the buildings associated with the Skyland CCC camp are extant.

site.[76] In an effort to provide on-site recreational facilities and using voluntary, off-hours labor of the men, the enrollees built a gymnasium (no longer extant) at Skyland sometime before 1938.[77] Recreational activities such as boxing, football, and community dances were organized to provide entertainment for the workers.[78]

[76]Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful*, 32

[77]Ibid., 53.

[78]Ibid., 58-59.

CCC workers at Skyland performed a variety of tasks. In his comprehensive look at CCC life in Shenandoah National Park, Reed Engle quotes from the Skyland Camp Commanders report, which describes work conducted between October 1934 and March 1935. Among the many tasks completed are the reduction of fire hazards, roadside and trailside cleanup, campground clearing, sodding ground, and moving and planting 1,000 trees and shrubs.[79] The CCC was charged with improving Skyline Drive, regrading land, constructing stone walls, and renovating existing cabins and occasionally building new ones. Typical renovation work completed on the Skyland cabins included dividing the former single-family cabins into multiple units more suitable for rental by the Virginia Sky-Line Company.[80] Other alterations included removing rough-bark siding and replacing it with rough-sawn boards or chestnut shingles, and replacing original wood-shingled roofs. To assist with cabin renovations, the Skyland CCC camp established a mill in Whiteoak Canyon by 1934. The mill made chestnut shingles that were used on buildings throughout the park.[81]

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[79]Ibid., 80-81.

[80]New interior dividing walls were filled with sawdust from the mill in what was apparently a soundproofing measure. See Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful*, 72.

[81]Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful*, 72.

Other work completed by CCC enrollees was less visible, but vital to Shenandoah's success as a national park. Comfort stations and concessionaire developments required water, septic systems, and telephone lines. Many of the systems installed by the CCC are still in use today.[82]

The CCC continued working in and around Skyland until June 1942, when all CCC camps at Shenandoah were closed because of cuts in Congressional funds in Depression-era programs as the nation went to war.[83]

The National Park Service and the Virginia Sky-Line Company at Skyland

In 1936, as renovations to existing buildings were made and new buildings were being designed, Charles M. Peterson, the NPS resident landscape architect, wrote the chief architect in Washington, stating:

> *I have never liked the exterior finish [of the cabins] because to me it looked like a forced rusticity which is too delicate and "arty" for the type of structure one would expect to find at a development such as Skyland. In addition, I think it may encourage rot on the boards underneath because it is impossible to put it down absolutely tight. My recommendation is that bark be taken off from all of them and replaced with either rough sawed siding or slab.*

[82]Ibid., 88.

[83]Ibid., 30, 94.

Within several years, Peterson's recommendations were implemented on some of the remaining buildings. In 1937, when Virginia Sky-Line assumed control of Skyland, many cabins were described as being "modernized." Most of the existing cabins were subdivided to accommodate more visitors. New cabins were constructed and renovated cabins were almost all sheathed in rough-slab, sawn boards.

Virginia Sky-Line constructed new buildings at Skyland, generally following the character of both existing Pollock buildings and also following the lead of new National Park Service buildings being constructed in other parts of the park. Virginia Sky-Line retained the services of notable architect Marcellus Wright, Jr., to design new buildings. Mason Magnum, president of Virginia Sky-line, was a close personal friend of Wright, and was responsible for his coming to work at Shenandoah. Prior to designing buildings at the park, Wright traveled to national parks in the west to look for models for his buildings at Shenandoah. His designs at Shenandoah–which also include buildings at Big Meadows, Lewis Mountain and Elk Wallow–employ native materials and are generally rather small in scale. Wright was sensitive to the setting and topography of the site, and designed buildings that were appropriate not only for the park in general, but the site specifically. He also situated the buildings to take advantage of important views and vistas.[84]
In 1939, the Recreation Hall at Skyland was designed by Marcellus Wright, Jr., and constructed later the same year. Although it does not display as many rustic architectural features as the early, Pollock-era cabins, its simple use of a similar architectural vocabulary is complementary to earlier buildings. The same year an employee dormitory was constructed at Skyland, and was located apart from guest facilities. Two others followed within two years. Designed to provide housing for employees–particularly those employed during the summer months–the dormitories contained

[84]For a complete discussion of architect Marcellus Wright, Jr., and his greater role at Shenandoah National Park, see *Shenandoah National Park: Historic Resources Study*, Robinson & Associates, Inc., 1997.

laundry facilities, lavatories, and sleeping areas. Like other Skyland buildings, they too reflected the rustic nature of earlier architecture.

In 1948, Pollock's original dining room burned and was unsalvageable. Virginia Sky-Line used the Recreation Hall as temporary dining facilities while it constructed a replacement, completed in 1952. Situated on a different plot of land, the new dining hall takes advantage of stunning valley views. In 1956, a gift shop area was added on to the dining room, and a separate lodging registration building was constructed. Like other buildings at Skyland, these new buildings are compatible with preexisting rustic architecture. And like buildings of roughly the same era, they display fewer of the individualized rustic details that were more typical from the early Pollock era.

As time went on, Skyland became more and more popular with the traveling public and Virginia Sky-Line found it difficult to accommodate visitors desiring to stay there. First, in attempt to expand lodgings, five cabins from Dickey Ridge, located within Shenandoah National Park, were moved to Skyland in 1952. These cabins, originally constructed in the 1930s, were architecturally compatible with existing Skyland buildings and were sensitively located at Skyland. Between 1960 and 1980, new motel-style lodgings were also constructed to accommodate large numbers of visitors. Generally, these units are one to two stories in height and are sheathed in stained wood. Some of the units have been placed in areas that previously afforded views from cabins located on ridges above the valley. Other units have been more successfully sited and do not intrude on historic viewsheds and vistas.

Today, Skyland is a blend of its three eras of development: the early period pioneered by George Freeman Pollock, its years as a publicly owned facility, and the later period as a resort within Shenandoah National Park. The 100-year evolution of the site from a private, middle-class resort to public lodging within a national park is evident in the rustic architecture of Skyland.

Lewis Mountain

Creation of the Lewis Mountain Facility, 1936-1942

Shenandoah National Park and the Skyline Drive that bisects it were immediately successful. Even before it officially became a park on December 26, 1935, the area received more visitors than any national park: 516,637 in the fiscal year ending September 30, 1935. Two years later Shenandoah became the first national park to entertain more than a million guests. The level of visitation confirmed the ideas of

federal planners who thought that a park based on the great western parks of the late nineteenth century but located near the centers of population on the eastern seaboard would be highly popular.[85]

Development of the park's facilities, however, lagged behind the citizenry's level of interest. Although Park Service Chief Landscape Architect Thomas C. Vint recommended the construction of four or five picnic areas and two facilities for lodging and dining at Shenandoah in December 1932, only facilities predating the park's creation, such as George F. Pollock's Skyland, near Luray, were in operation by the time the park opened. An invitation for bids on a concession contract for the park, which would have given the contracted company revenue from sales and fees in exchange for development of park facilities, did not go out until February 17, 1936. It called for a five-year investment of $1.75 million to construct or rehabilitate 14 lodge, picnic, and camping areas. Virginia Sky-Line Company, headed by former Richmond Chamber of Commerce

[85]Darwin Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History: Shenandoah National Park, 1924-1976," National Park Service, 1979 (draft), 252. Construction on Skyline Drive began in 1931. Portions of the drive were opened as they were finished, bringing visitors to the area that would become Shenandoah National Park before it opened. See Robinson & Associates, Inc., 41-43.

Vice President Mason Manghum, won a 20-year contract for the concessions in Shenandoah on February 28, 1937.[86]

[86]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 253-262; *Harrisonburg Daily News-Record*, March 4, 1936, 1.

The plans outlined in the Park Service's call for bids were negotiated and altered once the contract was awarded, but soon a new requirement not mentioned in the invitation was included: a facility for the use of African Americans. Such a facility had been considered as early as November 30, 1932, when Arno B. Cammerer, deputy director of the National Park Service, wrote "Provision for colored guests" on a memorandum to Director Horace Albright outlining potential development of the as-yet unopened park.[87] As with other aspects of park development, the provision for a segregated facility was not acted on until the number of tourists indicated a need. A report by resident landscape architect Harvey P. Benson, written in August 1936, alerted his superiors to this circumstance. "Because of the increasing numbers of colored people in the park," Benson wrote, "it seems necessary to provide facilities for them."[88] Benson did not provide the specific number of African Americans visiting Shenandoah in its early years, but did say that his information came from employees at the park's gates. Later figures bear out Shenandoah's popularity with African Americans. Approximately 10,000 visited the park each year between 1938 and 1940, about one percent of the total number for those years.[89]

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[87]Reed Engle, "Laboratory for Change," Shenandoah National Park [SHEN] *Resource Management Newsletter*, January 1996, 1.

[88]Harvey P. Benson, "Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Director," August 1936, 2. National Archives and Records Administration, RG 79.

[89]Harvey P. Benson, "The Skyline Drive: A Brief History of a Motorway," *The Regional*

Review 4 (February 1940), 3-10; Lambert, 280.

Discussion of a facility for African Americans must have preceded Benson's report because in it he also mentions that a previously considered site at Bearwallow had been discarded in favor of a site at Bear Knoll "where the topo[graphy] and tree growth is more practical and desirable."[90] For unexplained reasons, however, Bear Knoll did not become the site for the new facility either. In February 1937, Shenandoah Superintendent James Ralph Lassiter reported that detailed plans "for the proposed colored picnic ground at Lewis Mountain" were being completed, and they were approved by the beginning of August. Approximately 3,400 feet above sea level, the Lewis Mountain site was six miles south of Big Meadows, another project being developed by Virginia Sky-Line, in the central district of the park. At about the same time that the plans for Lewis Mountain were approved, Arthur A. Demaray, assistant to Cammerer, told Lassiter that, due to the growing use of the park by African Americans, he would have to revise his utilization of the Civilian Conservation Corps in order to speed up the completion of the Lewis Mountain facility.[91]

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[90]Benson, "Monthly Narrative Report," August 1936, 2.

[91]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 272; United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, "Lewis Mountain–Development for Colored

Grading of the area was mostly complete by April 20, 1938, and the picnic area comfort station and hiking trails had been laid out by that time. The CCC had begun clearing the trails as well. A month later, roadways and parking lots had been graded, a picnic area had been cut out of the vegetation and made ready for seeding, and its comfort station was under construction. It was three-quarters finished by the end of June. Open for business by the summer of 1939, Lewis Mountain provided 40 picnic tables, 12 fireplaces, parking for 42 cars, campgrounds for 30 tents and trailers, and the picnic grounds comfort station.

When Benson's article on Skyline Drive appeared in the Park Service magazine *The Regional Review* **in February 1940, a lodge was under construction and plans were underway for four two-room cabins at Lewis Mountain. Construction crews finished the cabins, but one burned before the year was out. The lodge and the cabins were designed by Marcellus Wright, Jr., architect for Virginia Sky-Line. A tent platform believed to have been built by the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club (PATC) for use by Appalachian Trail hikers was converted into a cabin in 1940. The existing campground comfort station was built in 1942, replacing an earlier pit privy.[92]**

People," August 4, 1937 (photocopy), Technical Information Center, Denver Service Center, Denver, Colorado.

[92]Engle, "Laboratory for Change,"3; Benson, "Monthly Narrative Report," March 20 to April 20, 1938, and April 20 to May 20, 1938; Benson, "The Skyline Drive," 10; National Park

Service, “Cultural Landscapes Inventory 2001: Lewis Mountain,” 1:11-12, 3-14; Shenandoah National Park, individual building data cards, various dates; National Park Service, building plans [various plans for buildings at Shenandoah National Park], Denver Service Center.

Two different organizations were responsible for construction of the Lewis Mountain facilities. The Civilian Conservation Corps, which operated out of ten camps in Shenandoah National Park between 1933 and 1942, created the infrastructure: CCC workers built the road and trail systems and retaining walls, cleared and graded the camp sites and picnic area, installed the water system (including the picnic and campground comfort stations, the boulder fountains, and the pump house on the west side of Skyline Drive), created the ornamental boulder field at the picnic grounds, cut down dead chestnut trees, cleared undergrowth, and replanted areas deforested by logging and farming. Virginia Sky-Line was responsible for the construction and maintenance of the Wright-designed cabins and the lodge.[93]

[93]"Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Lewis Mountain," 2:1-2, 3:6-26.

As it did throughout the park, the work of both the CCC and Wright at Lewis Mountain adhered to the ideas of landscape and architectural design as formulated by the National Park Service during the years immediately following its creation in 1916. Park Service design sprang from the work of nineteenth-century landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing, whose principles had been based on the picturesque designs of English landscape gardeners such as Humphrey Repton, William Kent, and Capability Brown.[94] As the purpose of the Park Service was to conserve natural and historic resources so that they might be enjoyed by present and future generations, the goal of design in the national parks was for built structures to "blend unobtrusively into the natural setting."[95] A number of guidelines were developed to accomplish that goal, such as the preservation of existing landscape features, the use of natural materials in construction, replanting native species, and the avoidance of right angles and straight lines.[96] At Lewis Mountain, these principles are evident in the curving, one-way road and in the extensive plantings of native species such as mountain laurel, oak, and witchhazel.[97] In an interview, Wright noted that the Park Service didn't provide specific guidelines for the facility's structures. "Fitting into the landscape was the main goal," Wright said, "and then using the native materials to the greatest extent possible."[98] Wright's adherence to these ideas can be seen in his use of native stone for the porch, chimney, and fireplace of Lewis Mountain's lodge, its wooden siding and terrain-hugging horizontal profile, and the fence of native chestnut that surrounded the lodge's yard.

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[94]Robinson & Associates, Inc., 53.

[95]Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 2.

[96]Ibid., 2-3.

[97]"Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Lewis Mountain," 3:6.

[98]Marcellus Wright, interview by Carol Hooper, 1994, Robinson & Associates, Inc., files.

Commentators have noted the romanticism associated with the "naturalistic" designs of New Deal built landscapes. In creating Shenandoah, the National Park Service sought to return the landscape to an idealized state, to a form designers determined had existed before European settlement in the seventeenth century – before settlers built log farmhouses, before the land was deforested by farming, tanning, and charcoal-making, before an imported blight killed thousands of native chestnut trees.[99] Such idealization of the past is often associated with difficult periods in history, and the Great Depression of the 1930s would certainly be considered such a period in the United States. The landscape design and the built environment of Lewis Mountain, as in other parts of the park, therefore illustrate a national trend focusing on the country's past. This trend can also be seen in the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, which began in the late 1920s, and in the parkways of the time, such as the Mt. Vernon Memorial Parkway that led pilgrims from Washington, D.C., to George Washington's farm in the Virginia countryside. Parks, parkways, and restored colonial capitals "signified a quest for ideals and for a lost and ennobled past" for both designers and for the sites' many visitors.[100]

Historic Context: Segregation in Virginia

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[99]Robinson & Associates, Inc., 80-81.

[100]Phoebe Cutler, *The Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 55-57.

A plan exists for the sign proposed to mark the entrance to the Lewis Mountain facility when it opened. The sign reads: "Lewis Mountain Negro Area."[101] An analysis of the creation of a separate picnic and camping facility for African Americans broadens our understanding of the social history of the period, particularly the relations between African Americans and the majority population. Virginia was just one of a number of the former Confederate States of America that created strictly segregated accommodations for the races in situations in which social roles were unclear, such as public parks.[102]

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[101]U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Proposed Entrance Sign, Lewis Mountain, Shenandoah National Park," June 3, 1940 (electronic copy), Technical Information Center, Denver Service Center, Denver, Colorado.

[102]C. Vann Woodward has pointed out that racism and segregation did not occur only in the South. Most of the segregation in the North, however, was socially rather than legally enforced. When African Americans moved north in large numbers after the Civil War, for instance, the competition for jobs resulted in various manifestations of racism: African Americans were forced into lower paying jobs, while their middle-class positions in the postal service or on the police force disappeared, and they were excluded from the developing union movement. Some of the worst racial

riots in the nation's history, Woodward has noted, took place in Chicago in 1919 as a result of competition for scarce post-World War I jobs. See C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 74-76, 113-115.

Although rooted in the prejudices linked to the continuation of the slave labor system that undergirded the Southern economy until the Civil War, legislation segregating the races did not come into widespread use in the South until the twentieth century. To be sure, informal segregation existed previously, but the first "Jim Crow" law in Virginia, requiring separate spaces for African Americans and whites on street cars and passenger trains, was not enacted until 1900. Virginia's state constitution, ratified in 1902, limited African American voting through the use of property and literacy qualifications, essentially ending the opportunity to contest Jim Crow laws through the electoral process. Segregation laws increased restrictions on the mixing of the races slowly thereafter until the pace quickened in the 1920s and 1930s. The most wide-ranging such legislation was the Massenburg Bill–named after Elizabeth City County's delegate to the Virginia General Assembly, G. Alvin Massenburg, and passed in 1926–which required the separation of the races in theaters, public auditoriums, and other places of public assembly. With the Massenburg Bill, Virginia became the first and only state to segregate the races in all places of public assembly. Generally, however, the Commonwealth seems neither to have led nor to have lagged far behind other Southern states in the creation of a segregated society.[103]

Jim Crow laws attempted to regulate public spaces – mass transit, movie theaters, dances, restaurants, concerts, etc. – where the races came together on a nearly equal footing or at

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[103]Charles E. Wynes, "The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia," *Phylon* 26 (4), 1967, 416-421; Woodward, 83-84; Ronald L. Heinemann, *Harry Byrd of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1966), 62.

least where status was uncertain. As society and technology changed over time, new laws were required to maintain the ordered separation of the races that those changes threatened. Segregation in streetcars and passenger trains in the South, for instance, followed hard upon their increased use in the 1880s. Busses were not widely used in public transportation until the 1920s; a law requiring separate sections on busses for whites and African Americans was passed in Virginia in 1930. Increased opportunities for recreation in the late nineteenth century were met in Southern states with segregated facilities and sometimes the exclusion of African Americans from amusement parks, rollerskating rinks, bowling alleys, swimming pools, and the like.[104] It should not be surprising, then, that at Shenandoah, one of the first national parks in the South, segregation would be expected by members of the white majority. The Massenburg Bill might well have been interpreted so as to make the mixing of the races at campgrounds and picnic areas illegal. That the federal government initially submitted to local law and custom can be seen in Cammerer's handwritten note on the memo to Albright mentioning the "Provision for colored guests" for the new park.

The Decision to Segregate Shenandoah National Park

Cammerer's note, however, dates from the administration of Herbert Hoover, and the question of whether segregation would be implemented at Shenandoah National Park was answered by the next administration, that of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. When Roosevelt became president in March 1933, the federal government's involvement in desegregating Southern institutions slowly increased. Once again, Shenandoah mirrored trends followed elsewhere in the South, where, even as Jim Crow laws continued to be passed,

[104]Wynes, 421; Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 230-234.

challenges to strict separation of the races began to be made by individuals, by organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), by progressive newspapers, and by the federal government itself.

The challenge to segregation at Shenandoah did not occur immediately. As can be seen from the realization of plans to create a separate facility for African Americans in Roosevelt's second term, the acceptance of segregation at the federal level did not end with his election to the presidency. Scholars attribute the caution with which Roosevelt approached the issue of race relations to the president's initial lack of awareness of the situation and to political circumstances. African Americans voted overwhelmingly for Hoover in 1932, partly because he was a member of Abraham Lincoln's Republican party who was supported by civil rights leaders like NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White. Roosevelt's civil rights record gave African Americans no reason to look for a progressive attitude from him.[105] He had participated in the segregation of the United States Navy as assistant secretary, refused to be photographed with African Americans at the 1932 Democratic convention, and would not allow a civil rights plank to become part of the Democratic platform in the presidential race that year.

Assessments of Roosevelt's priorities during his first term show that White and others who criticized the president on racial issues were correct. The president, according to historian Harvard Sitkoff, "accepted as a touchstone of Democratic loyalty the assertion that the federal government had no right to meddle in a state's conduct of racial affairs." Further, New Deal legislation placed the authority to implement its programs with the states themselves, resulting, according to critics, in widespread discrimination with respect to race in hiring and in the allocation of funds allotted to Southern states.

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[105]Jeanne Nienaber Clarke, *Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 179.

At least in part, Roosevelt's public actions resulted from the political situation in which he found himself. He came to the presidency at a time when Southern Democratic senators, using both the state constitutions that consolidated their electoral authority at home and congressional seniority rules that protected their influence in Washington, held positions of virtually unassailable power. Strong proponents of states' rights, these conservative senators would normally reject the intervention of the federal government in affairs they considered to be the province of the states themselves. In order for Roosevelt to obtain support for interventionist New Deal programs designed to lift the United States out of the Depression, he could not afford to alienate Southern democrats with progressive social issues like desegregation. "I did not choose the tools with which I must work," Roosevelt once explained to White.[106]

If Roosevelt publicly maintained the status quo on race relations in his first term, however, he opened himself to certain influences and made appointments within his administration that ultimately helped to advance civil rights. One of the most important influences was his wife Eleanor. Although she did not come to Washington as a reformer, she soon befriended civil rights leaders like White and Mary McLeod Bethune, president of the National Council of Negro Women, and began championing their cause. In her newspaper columns, her radio addresses, and in speeches to black colleges, Eleanor Roosevelt communicated to a wide audience the conditions in which African Americans lived during the Depression. She attended conventions and conferences on civil rights, and as she became known as a sympathetic listener within the administration, African American leaders began asking her to convey messages on specific issues or legislation to the president. During FDR's second term, she strongly and publicly supported the abolition of the poll tax and anti-lynching legislation.

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[106]Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue*, vol. 1, *The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 39-55.

As a result of the influence of his wife and of other members of the administration, Roosevelt became more outspoken in his support for civil rights during his second term. He met with delegations of African American leaders, was photographed with them, condemned lynching, and promised that federal programs would be administered without discrimination. Roosevelt appointed the first African American federal judge in the nation's history, William Hastie, and appointed two liberal judges to the Supreme Court, William O. Douglas and Felix Frankfurter. He made civil rights activist Frank Murphy his attorney general, and Murphy formed the Civil Rights Section in the Justice Department to investigate infringement of constitutional liberties.[107]

One of Roosevelt's earliest appointees was Harold Ickes, a Chicago lawyer the president named his Secretary of the Interior in 1933. Ickes, initially a Republican, had been a member of a circle of reformers in Chicago, including Roosevelt's uncle, Frederic A. Delano. Never a candidate himself, he had worked on election campaigns from the mayoral to the presidential level. He had also been president of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, and two of his early acts as Secretary of the Interior were to abolish the department's segregated lunch rooms and to create an Office of Negro Relations within the department to monitor racial affairs. "Through Roosevelt's entire first term in office," biographer Jeanne Neinaber Clarke has written, "Harold Ickes, in his various capacities, did more to further the rights of minorities than did any other official in the administration."[108]

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[107]Ibid., 59-66.

[108]Clarke, 13-21, 179-182.

With such a strong proponent of equal rights as Secretary of the Interior, which administered the National Park Service, it might seem surprising that a segregated facility was considered for Lewis Mountain as late as Roosevelt's second term. The administration's actions and communications, however, indicate that the power of conservative Southern senators dictated a cautious approach. As has been mentioned, Roosevelt needed the cooperation of Southern legislators to pass his New Deal programs. When the administration advanced more far-reaching social programs in Roosevelt's second term, senators like Carter Glass and Harry F. Byrd, Sr., of Virginia, North Carolina's Josiah Bailey, and Maryland's Millard Tydings became vocal opponents within the Democratic Party. Byrd, for instance, was one of only six senators who voted against the Social Security Act, and his influence resulted in Virginia becoming the last state to implement its provisions. He also voted against the Wagner Act, which gave unions the right to organize and bargain collectively.[109]

Byrd held the prejudices of his time and his place. He opposed integration of the races throughout his life, as can be seen from his 1920 stance on giving women the vote (he was opposed because it would have given African American women the vote as well) to his support of massive resistance to the integration of public schools in the 1960s. In 1941, he also opposed staffing a Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Shenandoah National Park with African American enrollees. His racism, however, did not possess the fevered demagoguery that other Southern leaders were given to, and occasionally he showed glimpses of an awareness of civil rights issues. He paid African American and white

[109]Heinemann, 164-173.

workers on his apple farms equal wages for equal work, for instance, and proudly publicized that fact. And he told an official of Hampton Institute that the Massenburg Bill segregating all public assemblies in Virginia was "regrettable" but allowed it to become law without signing it, writing that he felt he couldn't oppose a bill that had passed the legislature by an overwhelming majority. An indication of Byrd's stance on race relations was his membership in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a group that emphasized advances in education for African Americans but not an end to segregation.[110]

[110]Ibid., 27, 62-63, 113, 329. The information on Byrd's opposition to an African American CCC camp comes from a January 24, 2002, telephone conversation with Reed Engle, Cultural Resource Specialist at Shenandoah National Park, who discovered Byrd's opposition in research in National Archives Record Group 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Given Byrd's opposition to essential New Deal programs, a federal challenge to his deeply held prejudices in favor of states' rights and a segregated society in a park on his home turf – one that he had been influential in creating in the 1920s – could have jeopardized any future help he might have given Roosevelt. Communications indicate that members of the administration took pains not to ruffle Southern feathers on such issues. In 1937, for instance, Ickes wrote to Bailey to reassure him that neither he nor the administration intended to overturn Jim Crow laws that the states had passed. "I think it is up to the states to work out their own social problems if possible," Ickes wrote in his diary, summarizing his letter to Bailey, "and while I have always been interested in seeing that the Negro has a square deal, I have never dissipated my strength against the particular stone wall of segregation. I believe that wall will crumble when the Negro has brought himself to a higher educational and economic status."[111] Ickes' sentiments might have passed for a public expression on the issue by Bailey or Byrd themselves.

When the opportunity arose to advance civil rights without upsetting the apple cart of party unity, however, Roosevelt and Ickes seized it with both hands. In 1939, for instance, world-renowned opera singer Marian Anderson was refused permission to sing at Constitution Hall in Washington, an auditorium owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution. The DAR's president, Mrs. Henry Robert, Jr., told a reporter that no Negro would ever sing in Constitution Hall. Eleanor Roosevelt very publicly renounced her membership in the DAR as a result, and Ickes, at the instigation of Walter White and Assistant Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman – and with the president's permission – arranged for a free concert at the foot of the Lincoln Memorial on April 9.

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[111]Harold Ickes, *The Secret Diaries of Harold Ickes*, 3 vols. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), April 9, 1937, 2:115.

Ickes also lent the weight of his office to the efforts of New York Congresswoman Caroline O'Day to organize sponsors for the event among members of Congress, the administration, and the Supreme Court, effectively forcing those people to publicly choose a stance for or against integration. An estimated crowd of 75,000 people, mostly African Americans, attended the concert, and Ickes introduced the singer, telling the crowd, "Genius, like Justice, is blind. ... Genius draws no color line. She has endowed Marian Anderson with such a voice as lifts any individual above his fellows and is a matter of exultant pride to any race."[112]

[112]Clarke, 311-316; Sitkoff, 326-327.

Both the cautious and the opportunistic approaches to desegregation were used at Lewis Mountain. As has been mentioned, the facility was planned to be segregated from its inception, bowing to Virginia law and custom. There seem to have been limits, however, to how deeply the federal government was willing to bow to state authority. "The program of development of facilities ... for the accommodation and convenience of the visiting public," Assistant Park Service Director Demaray wrote to L.E. Wilson of Hampton, Virginia, in September 1936, "contemplates ... separate facilities for white and colored people to the extent only as is necessary to conform with the generally accepted customs long established in Virginia but not to such an extent as to interfere with the complete enjoyment of the park equally by all alike."[113]

Demaray's demand that Lassiter step up the construction of the picnic grounds for African Americans followed less than a year later. A memo recording Demaray's instructions noted that two bus loads of African Americans were headed for Shenandoah National Park the next day and that they would have to be "fitted into camping places for the white people." Before the creation of Lewis Mountain, the policy at Shenandoah was to allow African Americans to use parts of the spaces in other facilities, much as they were given separate sections on trains, streetcars, busses, and theaters. "This is not a good condition," Demaray wrote, but, reflecting the prejudices of his time, he also felt that separate facilities would be appreciated as much by African Americans as by whites.[114]

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[113]Arthur A. Demaray to L.E. Wilson, September 18, 1936, quoted in Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park Administrative History," 272.

[114]Memorandum quoted in Demaray to James Ralph Lassiter, July 26, 1937, Lambert,

Experimenting with Desegregation

"Shenandoah National Park Administrative History," 272.

Although Lewis Mountain was built as a segregated facility, discussion of the appropriateness of segregation preceded the facility's opening. In a January 17, 1939, letter to Ickes, the Interior Department's solicitor, Nathan R. Margold, wrote that he was "unable to subscribe to the doctrine that segregation should be continued." He allowed that the practice was constitutional and legal, "provided that the facilities available to members of each race in all respects are equal," but felt those at Shenandoah were not equal either in number, adequacy, maintenance, or attractiveness. Segregation at Shenandoah was therefore "an infringement of constitutional principles." Margold believed that the situation could be addressed by the department since the park was a federal jurisdiction and not bound by Virginia law.[115]

About a month before the wheels began to turn that resulted in Marian Anderson's concert at the Lincoln Memorial, individuals within the Interior Department may have looked on the situation at Shenandoah National Park as another opportunity to tilt at the wall of segregation. Apparently prompted by complaints about the facilities for African Americans at Shenandoah, the department began studying segregation in the park early in January 1939, and Margold's letter to Ickes on the situation followed less than two weeks later. At about this same time, Manghum and his organization were about to sell Virginia Sky-Line to a new group headed by DeSoto Fitzgerald, a railroad supply dealer, and T. McCall Frazier, who left the Virginia Alcoholic Beverage Control Board for the concessionaire. The change in ownership might have been seen as a chance to address the issue of segregation once again.

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[115]Nathan R. Margold to Harold Ickes, January 17, 1939, quoted in Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park Administrative History," 273.

Shenandoah superintendent Lassiter defended the facilities at Lewis Mountain in a February 8, 1939, letter to Cammerer, by now Director of the National Park Service. Lassiter wrote that the beauty of two of the developed areas at Shenandoah probably surpassed Lewis Mountain, but the setting of the segregated facility was equal or superior to the rest. Since the facilities themselves – the comfort stations, fireplaces, tables, and so forth – were standardized, Lewis Mountain also equaled the other developed sites in the park in that regard. At Cammerer's request he provided numbers on existing and planned facilities for both African Americans and whites. The percentage of facilities for African Americans exceeded the percentage of African American visitors to the park.[116]

[116]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 265-273.

Assistant Secretary of the Interior Ebert Burlew wrote to Virginia's senators, Glass and Byrd, for their opinions on the situation, and Byrd's reply touched on the principle that would ultimately allow for segregation to continue in the park. "When the Park was established," Byrd wrote, "it was agreed that all laws governing the State of Virginia would be in effect within the Park area."[117] Frazier, who became vice president in charge of operations for Virginia Sky-Line when the new group purchased it from Manghum's organization, also appealed to the previous agreement when pressured to desegregate Shenandoah's facilities after World War II.

In the meantime, the park became what Shenandoah cultural resources specialist Reed Engle has called "A Laboratory for Change."[118] Ickes himself alluded to this natural laboratory in a 1942 letter to Archibald MacLeish. "For several years I have been working with leaders of the Negro race ... to open up national park and monument areas in the Southern States to Negroes," he wrote. "In the Shenandoah ... we experimented with several picnic areas and have had no serious complaint. I expect to extend this non-discriminatory policy to other areas."[119] Negotiating the fine line between Southern

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[117]Harry F. Byrd, Sr., to Ebert Burlew, March 9, 1939, quoted in Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park Administrative History," 274.

[118]Engle, "Laboratory for Change," 1.

[119]Ickes to Archibald MacLeish, May 21, 1942, quoted in Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 277.

custom and progressive intervention, Ickes attempted to encourage desegregation in the park without regulations or court battles that might have hardened the differences between the two sides.

W.J. Trent, Jr., the Interior Department's Negro affairs adviser, outlined Ickes' approach to the encouragement of desegregation in a March 20, 1939, letter to the secretary. Noting that the goal of the department should be "to provide for all citizens, without segregation or discrimination, use of all facilities whether furnished by the Federal Government or the concessionaires," Trent described two steps by which a measure of desegregation might be achieved: 1) by not designating specific areas as white or African American officially and publicly and 2) by removing signs that communicated such designations. Despite the goal of nondiscrimination stated earlier, Trent pointed out that these steps did not apply to the private concession facilities, but only to those provided directly by the Park Service: picnic areas, campgrounds, trails, and comfort stations. He suggested, though, that the Park Service negotiate with the concessionaire to remove racial designations from its facilities as well.[120]

The National Park Service tried the two-step approach at Shenandoah. A meeting was held in Washington at the end of March 1939 attended by department and Park Service officials from Washington, but no one from the park itself. The group decided that one large picnic area in Shenandoah would be open to everyone and that no signs would indicate segregation by race in the comfort stations or picnic grounds. Superintendent Lassiter chose the existing Sexton Knoll (later Pinnacles) for the integrated picnic area. Separate dining areas would also be secured for African Americans at Panorama and at Swift Run Gap, replacing the previous practice of having African Americans dine in the employee dining rooms. No change, however, was required at the other dining facilities.

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[120]W.J. Trent, Jr., to Secretary, March 20, 1939, quoted in Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 274.

Complaints about the policy came from Lassiter and from Virginia Sky-Line Company. Lassiter noted that increased use of the parks during the summer nearly resulted in fights between African Americans and whites at the Pinnacles picnic grounds, at South River, and at the Skyland coffee shop. He also wrote that the determination not to publicize the separation of Shenandoah's facilities had resulted in confusion as to what was available in the park. A New York travel bureau had written Lassiter to ask if there were facilities for African Americans available since the official literature didn't mention them. The concessioner complained that the Lewis Mountain facility would operate at a loss due to lack of visitors, thereby placing a financial burden on the other facilities. Virginia Sky-Line's complaints were given some credence after the 1940 season when it was reported that the Lewis Mountain camping area had not been used at all and that use of the lodge and picnic grounds was well under capacity. These figures may, however, have been due to the newness of the facility rather than lack of interest by African American patrons.

Shenandoah employees attempted to resolve the uncertainty about who could use which areas of the park by marking facilities for African Americans in red pencil on maps distributed at the Front Royal entrance station. Reprimanded in a memorandum from NPS Director Newton B. Drury, who replaced Cammerer in August 1940, Lassiter immediately stopped it. Despite these attempts to dismantle segregation, Ickes acknowledged its practice at Shenandoah in his annual report, dated June 30, 1940, by noting that "the development for the accommodation of Negroes at Lewis Mountain ... has just been completed."

In its continuing attention to race relations at Shenandoah, the National Park Service sent its chief of engineering, Oliver G. Taylor, to the park to investigate the situation in January 1941. The park was mostly segregated, Taylor discovered, but there were areas that had been integrated. While the lodging and dining facilities at Dickey Ridge, Skyland, and Big Meadows were set aside for the exclusive use of white patrons, for instance, all lunch counters, gift shops, and gas stations were used by both races. Toilets at these facilities, however, remained segregated. The Pinnacles picnic grounds, including its comfort station, were used by both races.

Reaction to the segregation policy by patrons varied, Taylor found. Some whites separated themselves from African Americans at Pinnacles, while others, when they realized that the facility was integrated, simply left. African Americans inadvertently using facilities intended only for whites were informed of the policy, but not required to move. Taylor claimed that this situation arose mostly because the African Americans were not aware of the segregation and that most preferred facilities intended for members of their own race. He advised the continuation of segregation and suggested creating an additional integrated picnic ground.

Despite Taylor's advice and Burlew's satisfaction with the situation at Shenandoah, Drury decided that, for the 1941 season, all of the picnic grounds would be desegregated. Darwin K. Lambert's "Administrative History: Shenandoah National Park, 1924-1976," notes no protests to the policy that year, although a white man named Handy did complain about being excluded from the campground for African Americans at Lewis Mountain.[121] A photograph at the entrance to the facility dated May 8, 1941, shows that the sign designating Lewis Mountain a "Negro Area" remained standing at that time.[122]

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[121]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 274-281.

[122]"Park Signs–Entrance Sign" (photograph), Resource Management Records, Series IX, Photographs, Box IX-28, item no. 11801, May 8, 1941, Shenandoah National Park Archives, Luray, Virginia.

Handy may have been the only white camper to complain about his exclusion from Lewis Mountain, but he does not seem to have been the only white visitor. Lloyd Tutt, the African American manager of the facility for Virginia Sky-Line for 12 years, recalled in an interview in 1978 that when white visitors came to Lewis Mountain, he had been instructed to tell them that the campground was full, then find places for them at other park facilities. He did not, however, turn away visitors of any race who wanted to eat in his dining room. When necessary, Tutt said, he alternated tables of African Americans with tables of white visitors in order to accommodate them. "Our food was that good," he said. Visitors staying at other facilities also came to the dances held at the Lewis Mountain lodge.[123]

Lassiter was transferred from Shenandoah to Park Service regional headquarters in Santa Fe in 1941, perhaps due to disagreements with Ickes over policy at Shenandoah, but the issue of integration had lost much of its importance by the time Lassiter's successor, Edward D. Freeland, began his tenure at the beginning of 1942. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' subsequent entry into World War II immediately affected visitation to the national parks. By July 1942, Virginia Sky-Line Commpany had asked for and received permission to close Big Meadows Lodge and Lewis Mountain due to lack of patronage. All the facilities were closed at the end of the 1942 season.[124]

Physical Changes, 1943-1951

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[123]Lloyd Tutt, interview by Dorothy Smith, January 5, 1978, Oral History Program, Shenandoah National Park Archives, Park Headquarters, Luray, Virginia.

[124]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 282-287.

Accommodations at all national parks reopened quickly at the end of the war. At Shenandoah, the Panorama and Swift Run facilities reopened first, on September 1, 1945. The rest of the facilities were reopened by the following spring. Two more cabins, designed by Richmond architects Louis W. Ballou and Charles G. Justice, were built at Lewis Mountain in 1948. These cabins retained the rustic look that the Wright-designed cabins had introduced.
Later changes were designed to facilitate visitors' enjoyment of the area. Porches with grills were added to four cabins, the lodge was turned into a camp store, and two cooking pavilions were built near the fifth cabin. All these alterations took place in 1950.[125] Two more cabins, designed by Wright and built at Dickey Ridge in 1938, were moved to Lewis Mountain in 1951. One of these cabins, "G," has an attached dining porch, while the other, "F," has a free-standing dining pavilion to the south.[126]

Post-War Desegregation

The Interior department used the end of the war as an opportunity to push once again for desegregation in the park, pointing to its "General Rules and Regulations," published in the December 8, 1945, *Federal Register***, which did not allow separate facilities for the races. T. Frazier McCall protested to Superintendent Freeland that his group bought out Mason Manghum and the original owners of Virginia Sky-Line with the understanding that**

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[125] "Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Lewis Mountain," 1:11-12; Shenandoah National Park, individual building data cards, various dates.

[126] "Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Lewis Mountain," 2-2.

certain facilities would be designated for the exclusive use of whites, while Lewis Mountain would be reserved for African Americans. Enforcement of the federal regulation would, Frazier wrote, amount to a violation of the agreement and force Virginia-Skyline Company to withdraw from Shenandoah National Park.

Park Service officials realized that the concessioner's withdrawal from Shenandoah would leave them unable to offer services to park visitors for the 1946 season. While the Park Service recognized the previous agreement that Frazier's letter to Freeland referred to, neither it nor the Interior Department felt it could grant an exception to the regulation against segregation. Ickes, meanwhile, had resigned in a dispute with new President Harry Truman, so Acting Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman took the lead on the issue, taking it upon himself to write to Senator Byrd on the situation.

A compromise seems to have been reached for the summer of 1946. Virginia Sky-Line Company would be assured by Byrd that it could continue the segregation policy it agreed to in 1939, and Chapman would work with Judge William Hastie, the first African American federal judge in the nation's history, to see that civil rights groups in Washington would not take the Shenandoah situation to court. In return for this agreement, Virginia Sky-Line apparently agreed to desegregate its facilities because in 1947 Lewis Mountain and the Panorama dining room were open to all visitors.[127] By 1950, a park planner reported no segregation at the park. C.A. Lakey was one Virginia-

[127]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 302-305.

Skyline employee who, according to Superintendent Freeland, worked to implement the desegregation policy. An idea of how far in advance of the rest of the state was the situation at Shenandoah National Park can be gained from the fact that a bill to desegregate mass transit in Virginia was introduced in the legislature in 1950 but did not get out of committee. Apparently, there were those who doubted that the park was truly desegregated because, again according to Freeland, some African Americans reserved accommodations within the park but did not use them–apparently simply testing the integration policy.[128]

Updating facilities, 1952-2001

Since the move of the Dickey Ridge cabins, only minor changes to the Lewis Mountain facility have been made. Most of the signs in the facility today, for instance, date from after the period of significance (1931-1952). As part of the National Park Service's Mission 66 initiative of the 1950s, a registration board was added at the campground and the water reservoir was replaced. Bear-proof food storage posts near the campground comfort station and perhaps the lights on brown metal poles also were also built during this time. A board and batten telephone building was built on a concrete slab in 1957 southeast of the picnic grounds. An amphitheater and storage shed were built around 1970; the Park Service plans to remove them.

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[128]Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History," 305; Wynes, 424. Byrd's involvement in the desegregation of Shenandoah National Park is unclear. Although two Interior Department documents indicate that he was involved in the negotiations between the department and Virginia Sky-Line Company, no documents were found that defined his role in the Harry F. Byrd, Sr., Papers at the University of Virginia.

The picnic tables at the campsites were placed on pavement and a parking lot was established next to the camp store in the 1980s. Pull-offs were established in front of the cabins sometime after 1990. Two sets of timber crib steps from their respective pull-offs to the cabins and another set from the parking lot to the entry road may also date from this period.

Cabin G was altered to allow handicapped accessibility in 1995, and the lodge was made accessible the following year. The privacy screens at the picnic grounds comfort station were moved to make the station handicapped accessible, and the logs were restored, both in 1999. Handicapped accessible grills were also installed at the picnic area, the campground, and at Cabin G.

Underground utility work was undertaken in 1999, resulting in the removal of swaths of vegetation at various locations in the site. The areas were replanted after the utility work was completed, but the affected areas remain much more thinly covered than they were previously. The road through the Lewis Mountain facility was also widened and repaved, the pull-offs in front of the cabins were paved for the first time, and some of the pathways were repaved. The paving was also widened around the campground comfort station, and an information display was installed near it. A walking trail leading south out of the Lewis Mountain area to the Appalachian Trail was bulldozed to a width of 10 to 15 feet during the utility project.[129]

Conclusion

Throughout its history, the Lewis Mountain facility has witnessed the social changes that have taken place in Virginia and in the south in the twentieth century. The park in which it is located was created as a way for the inhabitants of an increasingly urban

[129]"Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Lewis Mountain," 1:12, 3:3-32.

eastern seaboard to experience natural beauty, and the creation of that park was a showcase for one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's most prized work relief programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps. The creation of Lewis Mountain as a segregated facility also reflects racial attitudes in Washington and in the South in the 1930s. The subtle challenges to the practice of segregation, such as the elimination of signs identifying segregated spaces, and resistance to those challenges typify both progressive New Deal social policy and conservative reaction to the perceived intrusion of the federal government into areas of state authority. The resolution to the contest between the federal government and local custom after World War II illustrates the gains made in civil rights after the war.

Big Meadows/Rapidan Road

Introduction

Big Meadows has historically been an open space, and is the largest open meadow within the boundary of Shenandoah National Park. The meadow was the location of an early Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, which was established to provide work relief while at the same time promoting the societal goals of land conservation and enjoyment of natural resources by all Americans. Partially bisecting Big Meadows is Rapidan Road, which leads to Herbert Hoover's fishing retreat, a second White House of sorts for the then-President.

Natural Resource Intervention and Management at Big Meadows

Archaeological evidence shows that early Native Americans may have cleared part of the land that is now Big Meadows to encourage animal grazing. According to *Shenandoah Secrets*, "records of Shenandoah Valley town meetings show interest in using [Big Meadows] for summer pasture as early

as 1732."[130] More recent historical records indicate that early European settlers overgrazed the meadow with herds of beef cattle, particularly during the Civil War era.[131]

[130]Reeder and Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets*, 59.

[131]Ibid.

By 1900, approximately 1,000 acres of the meadow were "virtually barren of vegetation, and the meadows area was far larger than today, occupying nearly all the more level upland area from Milam Gap to Fishers Gap."[132]

> *When Big Meadows became parkland two centuries later, it belonged to a Shenandoah Valley family that had used it as a summer cattle range since about 1870. Mountain families lived in the land as tenants, looking after their cattle and extending the meadow by cutting timber for their own use.*[133]

Since the park was established, much of the meadow has been reclaimed by various species of trees and shrubs, including black locust, pine, blueberry, common alder, and blackberry. Many of these pioneering species were poised to reclaim the meadow without human intervention. Prior to 1975, the National Park Service used various combinations of mowing and burning to contain the woody pioneer species, but smaller briars and shrubs continued to proliferate, since the burning actually encouraged the sprouting and proliferation of these species. Later, the NPS added flamethrowers to its control methods, aiming high to avoid destroying desirable ground herbs. In conjunction with manual removal of woody plants and selective herbicide treatments, invaders were eliminated and grasses and herbaceous plants became established in their wake. From 1986-1998, there was no maintenance of Big Meadows. For the past four years, the meadow is maintained by yearly

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[132]Conners, *Shenandoah National Park*, 72.

[133]Reeder and Reeder, *Shenandoah Secrets*, 59. The family using the meadow for grazing was named Long.

prescribed burning and a minimal amount of hand removal of pioneer species. Additionally, since 1999, second growth trees and shrubs have been removed from over 30 acres of land.[134]

The Civilian Conservation Corps at Big Meadows

Within Shenandoah National Park, Big Meadows was one of ten Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps. Although the CCC buildings have been removed, the land-use history of the site as a CCC camp is integral to the historic significance of Big Meadows. (See "The Civilian Conservation Corps at Shenandoah National Park," above.)

[134]Conners, *Shenandoah National Park,* 73.

Big Meadow's CCC camp was known as Camp Fechner (NP-2), named for the Director of the ECW program from 1933-1939, and was assembled quickly, opening on May 15, 1933 and housing 200 men at any one time. It was located at mile 51.0, west of the Skyline Drive. Men were initially housed in reused surplus World War I tents, and latrines and kitchens were also previously used. Because of the lack of dining facilities, enrollees took their meals outdoors. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt visited Camp Fechner a few months after it was established and ate lunch with enrollees "from an aluminum mess-kit out-of-doors."[135]

Large brick boilers provided hot water for the bathhouse.[136] Barracks were heated by wood stoves; however, the barracks at NP-2 were wired for electricity as early as 1935, a luxury not enjoyed at all Shenandoah CCC camps. By winter, several permanent buildings, including a kitchen/mess hall and a washroom/privy, were constructed.

> *NP-2 was one of Shenandoah's more unusual camp layouts. The mess hall terminated the company street, as was common, but it was sited with its narrow gable end to the street, as were the six barracks buildings. The flagpole circle was in front of the mess hall. The recreation building was first built in the corner formed by the mess hall and an adjacent barracks, but was moved* [at a later date].

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[135]Engle, *Everything Was Wonderful*, 60.

[136]Ibid., 33.

The most unusual feature of NP-2, however, was the 10'-12' high palisade of chestnut logs that surrounded the camp. Built during the summer of 1933, the Big Meadows camp resembled a fortified military stockade in the 19th century west.[137]

CCC workers performed a variety of tasks. In his comprehensive look at CCC life in Shenandoah National Park, Reed Engle describes work conducted by enrollees:

Many of the results of labor . . . were never seen, but nevertheless critically necessary for the development of Shenandoah National Park and the CCC camps. The development of water systems on a mountain ridge required the construction of reservoirs, the development of spring boxes and the installation of tens of miles of waterlines. Comfort stations and concessionaire developments . . . necessitated water as well as septic systems. Telephone lines needed to be installed. . . . Many of these systems are still in use at Shenandoah National Park.[138]

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[137]Ibid., 34.

[138]Ibid., 88.

To assist with building renovations occurring in the Park, the Big Meadows CCC camp established a mill to process chestnut trees for planks used on the interior of Park Service buildings. By the fall of 1935, the Big Meadows sawmill had processed more than 300,000 feet of planks and produced several thousand posts and rails that were shipped to the Gettysburg National Military Park for battlefield fence restoration.[139] Also to aid in park improvement, by 1935, the CCC "established a plant nursery at NP-2 to grow plants for revegetation programs."[140]

CCC Recreation at Big Meadows Camp

Initially, the idea for a CCC education program was met with some degree of resistance at many CCC camps nationwide; it was poorly funded and rather unpopular with enrollees. However, Shenandoah commanders enthusiastically supported the program, and by 1935 participation was mandatory at the Big Meadows camp. Many of the classes spawned other CCC projects, such as the journalism class that resulted in the publication of a camp newspaper, the *POW-WOW*.

[139]Ibid., 67.

[140]Ibid., 86.

The education coordinator was also responsible for social, recreational, musical, and athletic programs. In an effort to provide on-site recreational facilities and using voluntary, off-hours labor of the men, a ballfield at Big Meadows was constructed in 1934 by the enrollees and was generally regarded as "the best playing field on the mountain."[141] The following year, the Big Meadows workers built Shenandoah's first gymnasium. Recreational activities such as boxing, football, music bands, and community dances were organized to provide entertainment for the workers.[142]

During the CCC occupation of Big Meadows, the area was often used for the sport of gliding, and was known as "one of the most ideal sites in America for the sport . . ."[143] A model glider club was formed at Camp Fechner, and Big Meadows subsequently served as the site of the national glider club competitions in the early years of Shenandoah National Park.[144]

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[141]Ibid., 60.

[142]Ibid., 53, 58-59.

[143]Ibid., 61.

[144]*The Gliding and Soaring Bulletin*, Volume III, Number 10, Shenandoah National Park Archives, Civilian Conservation Corps Assembled Collection, Box 1, Folder 13, Shenandoah National Park.

The CCC continued working in Shenandoah until March 1942, when cuts in Congressional funds depleted Depression-era programs as the nation went to war.[145] The CCC buildings were used later in the same decade by the U.S. Army to house trainees. Their exact date of demolition is unknown.

Shenandoah National Park Dedication Ceremony

President Roosevelt returned to Big Meadows on July 3, 1936, for the dedication of Shenandoah National Park, where he was the featured speaker and guest of honor. Thousands of people–many of whom were seated on large chestnut logs placed in rows–attended the festivities, which were broadcast over coast-to-coast radio hook-ups. Music was provided by the U.S. Marine Band. Roosevelt formally received the park into the National Park System as a gift from the state of Virginia, dedicating it to all Americans for recreational enjoyment. In addition to being well-attended, the event was also well-planned, with Skyline Drive running one-way south prior to the festivities and one-way north afterward to facilitate travel. Tank wagons along the Drive sold both gas and oil to accommodate travelers.

Rapidan Road[146]

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[145]Engle, *Everything was Wonderful*, 30, 94.

[146]For a complete discussion of Rapidan Camp (Camp Hoover), see Tom Walsh, et al., Camp Hoover National Historic Landmark Form.

In 1929, President Herbert Hoover and his wife Lou Henry Hoover selected the site for Rapidan Camp (later called Camp Hoover) as a retreat from Washington and the White House. The site for the camp was selected because it was only a short drive from Washington, D.C., yet allowed the Hoovers to immerse themselves in nature. Mrs. Hoover was a geologists and the President was an avid fisherman, and the selection of the camp was, as Hoover stated, "an excuse to return to the woods and streams with their retouch of the simpler life of the frontier from which every American springs."[147]

Despite its early beginnings as a retreat, Camp Hoover soon became a type of auxiliary White House, with the President conducting official business there. Planning sessions and policy debates soon became regular occurrences, with British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald discussing naval disarmament with Hoover. Later visitors included Winston Churchill, Charles Lindbergh, and Thomas Edison.

[147]Washington *Post*, August 18, 1929.

The site for Rapidan Camp was selected prior to the establishment of Shenandoah National Park and the construction of Skyline Drive. According to the National Historic Landmark Registration Form for Rapidan Camp, "the Hoover's decision to build Camp Rapidan (sic) has also been credited with initiating the construction of the previously proposed Skyline Drive."[148]

Rapidan Road, which connects Camp Rapidan with what is now Skyline Drive, began as an early portion of the original Skyline Drive. Although President and Mrs. Hoover had occupied their retreat via an access road from Criglersville, numerous suggestions for a roadway through the proposed park were made and George Pollock had requested a road be constructed connecting Skyland with Rapidan Camp. Such a road would allow for scenic views throughout the proposed Shenandoah National Park and also serve the dual purposes of making the park more accessible to the public while providing construction jobs for out-of-work men while the road was built. While the benefits of convenience and safety for President Hoover were obvious, Hoover himself realized the benefit of constructing a scenic road for the "traveling public." During a horseback ride in the Big Meadows section of the park west of Rapidan Camp, Hoover charged National Park Service Director Horace Albright with making the appropriate surveys and commencing the construction of Skyline Drive.[149]

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[148]Tom Walsh, et al., Camp Hoover National Historic Landmark Form, Section 8, Page 3.

[149]Dennis Elwood Simmons, *The Creation of Shenandoah National Park and the Skyline Drive, 1924-1936*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1978, 76-77.

Despite funding difficulties in Congress, money was appropriated in early 1931, although construction of Rapidan Road and Skyline Drive did not commence until after the winter months. Although Skyline Drive was initially proposed to be a 20-mile road, it was soon enlarged to encompass 42 miles of roadway. The unskilled labor needed to construct the drive offered relief to the mountain families who had suffered a drought the previous summer and fall and could not rely on their traditional means of income, and was an early work-relief effort of the Hoover administration.[150]

President Hoover's selection of a site within the boundaries of the proposed Shenandoah National Park provided obvious support for the official establishment of the park. But beyond the boundaries of the proposed park, "[t]he camp had a spirit or atmosphere conducive to tender concern for both humanity and nature. . . . The effect of the camp spread through the Hoover Administration into other conservation matters . . ."[151]

General Significance Summary

As the first national park established in the eastern portion of the United States, Shenandoah National Park raised national and regional awareness of the importance of the government's role in preserving large portions of the natural environment for public recreation and enjoyment. Three portions of Shenandoah evaluated in this nomination are Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows. Skyland was an early mountain resort which was taken over by the National Park Service

[150]Ibid., 77-82.

[151]Darwin Lambert, "The Rapidan Facet of Herbert Hoover," an essay appearing in *Herbert Hoover Reassessed* (U.S. Senate Document No. 96-63, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981), 27.

and renovated to accommodate its expanded use as a lodging, recreation, and service area. It contains excellent examples of the rustic style of architecture and affords majestic views of the Shenandoah Valley. Lewis Mountain was constructed for use as an early African American campground at Shenandoah, providing segregated recreational opportunities within the park. Big Meadows is the largest open space within the park's boundaries, and as a managed landscape, it affords a habitat for many species of wildlife that otherwise would not be able to live in Shenandoah National Park. The adjacent Rapidan Road was constructed to provide access to President Herbert Hoover's Blue Ridge Mountain fishing camp, drawing attention to the region as a source of natural beauty located close to several large East Coast cities.

Portions of Shenandoah National Park were previously listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The entirety of Skyline Drive was listed in 1997, followed shortly the same year by a boundary increase that included a portion of the Big Meadows area west of the area covered in this registration form, as well as Dickey Ridge, Simmons Gap, Piney River, and the Headquarters area. Rapidan Camp was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 1988. The current nomination serves as another boundary increase and includes three significant sections of Shenandoah National Park: Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows.

Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows have been evaluated according to criteria established by the National Register of Historic Places. The relevant criteria, as listed in the *National Register Bulletin 16* (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division), read as follows:

The quality of **significance** in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. that has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

The three areas proposed to increase the boundaries of the Skyline Drive Historic District are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A and C. As part of Shenandoah National Park, Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows are primarily significant under Criterion A for their association with the Park, which was the result of efforts to by the United States government and the Commonwealth of Virginia to conserve the characteristic scenic and natural resources of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Skyland, Big Meadows, and Lewis Mountain are also significant under Criterion A for their association with the efforts of the Federal government to provide economic relief during the Depression era for both skilled and unskilled workers in the form of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Camps located at Skyland and Big Meadows contributed to the improvement of built resources for National Park Service use and also to infrastructure improvements to surrounding areas. In addition to providing work relief and promoting economic stability, these programs illustrated the social and humanitarian purposes of the New Deal by advancing the conservation of natural areas while expanding the recreational resources–trails, roads, picnic areas, campgrounds, etc.–of the United States.

Under Criterion C, the architecture of Skyland and Lewis Mountain echoes early regional vernacular buildings of the Blue Ridge, conveying the rusticity of the region. First imitated by George Pollock at Skyland and later more broadly by the National Park Service, the rustic architecture in these two sections of Shenandoah offer two excellent collections of the type, displaying local materials and methods of construction, with attempts to sensitively site the buildings in the landscape. Rustic cabins originally constructed at Dickey Ridge for National Park Service use were moved to both Skyland and Lewis Mountain in 1951. Because more than 50 years have passed since the relocation of the cabins, and since they were constructed in the rustic style for National Park Service use, they are considered contributing buildings and do not compromise the integrity of either site.

The landscape features–including managed lands, circulation patterns, trails, hardscape features such as stone walls and steps, and vistas and viewsheds–are also significant under Criterion C. These elements of the proposed boundary increases are indicative of the early recreation uses and scenic opportunities that each site provides.

While the three areas were not evaluated under National Register Criterion D, several prior archeological studies have yielded information on both history and prehistory.

Specific discussions on the significance of the individual areas are discussed directly below.

Skyland

Skyland is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under the above-mentioned National Register Criteria A and C. Under Criterion A, like other portions of Shenandoah, Skyland is significant as part of the effort that culminated in the establishment of Shenandoah National Park. Specifically, George Freeman Pollock used Skyland as a type of promotional tool to impress key decision makers in the park selection process. After assuming control of Skyland, the National Park Service, with the help of the CCC, transformed the resort into a Park Service visitors area, complete with all necessary amenities.

Skyland is also eligible for National Register listing under Criterion C. As a substantial and significant collection of rustic architecture that demonstrates the evolution of the site from an early mountain mining area and resort to a Park Service visitors' area, Skyland demonstrates contemporary National Park Service principles of siting buildings and using natural materials to make buildings as unobtrusive on the natural landscape as possible.

Lewis Mountain

The Lewis Mountain campground, cabins, and picnic area are significant under Criterion A for their association with important events in the United States of the first half of the twentieth century and illustrates areas of significance such as recreation, transportation, economics, politics/government, and social history. Lewis Mountain is an important component of Shenandoah National Park, one of the first national parks in the East and therefore illustrates the trend toward outdoor recreation encouraged by increased use of the automobile. In addition, like other park developments, the Lewis Mountain area was landscaped and its infrastructure was built using labor provided by one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal work relief program, the Civilian Conservation Corps. New Deal work relief programs were not only an unprecedented intervention into business by the federal government, but also an important attempt to alleviate the economic hardships caused by the Depression. In addition, the Lewis Mountain facility was built to

offer recreational opportunities for African Americans in Virginia, a state which sought strict segregation of the races in public places. The change in its use from a segregated to an integrated facility mirrors the gradual desegregation of American culture that occurred in the twentieth century.
Lewis Mountain also satisfies National Register Criterion C for its use of the rustic style in its buildings and structures and the native materials employed in construction. The development's facilities, designed by the National Park Service and by Richmond architect Marcellus Wright, Jr., exemplify the National Park Service concepts of natural park design that were developed to provide access to natural surroundings without detracting from them. The designs harmonize with similar structures elsewhere in Shenandoah National Park.

Big Meadows[152]

[152]Much of the portion of land and buildings known as Big Meadows in Shenandoah National Park was previously listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a boundary increase to the Skyline Drive National Register listing. (This land lies northwest across Skyline Drive from the meadow itself.) This registration form serves as a boundary increase to the Skyline Drive form, with the purpose of including the previously omitted and historically significant meadow from which Big Meadows derives its name. Note that previously identified archeological sites are not included in the

Big Meadows is a culturally and naturally significant and unique area of Shenandoah National Park. The largest open space in the park, the meadow lends its name to surrounding park facilities such as a lodge, campground, and wayside station. Like Skyland and Lewis Mountain, Big Meadows and the adjacent Rapidan Road are eligible for the National Register under Criteria A, B, and C. During the earliest years of the period of significance (see below), Rapidan Road was used by President Herbert Hoover to access Rapidan Camp. Subsequent years witnessed the founding of the Big Meadows CCC camp, and although no buildings remain from this era, the meadow is significant as the site of NP-2 and associated CCC events. Big Meadows is also significant as the site of the dedication ceremony for Shenandoah National Park. Attended by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt the ceremony was the culmination of years of support for a National Park in the eastern portion of the United States and the years of work necessary to make the park accessible for visitors.

Under Criterion C, Big Meadows is eligible as a managed landscape that is subject to human intervention. It has historically been a meadow, cleared first by Native Americans and continued by pre-park era residents for livestock grazing. Since the founding of Shenandoah, the meadow has been important as the largest open space in the park, providing a habitat for wildlife that otherwise would have no suitable home within the park boundaries.

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present evaluation, nor is Corbin Cabin, which is located within the present-day treeline and is not part of the study area here. Similarly, Rapidan Camp (under the name Camp Hoover) has been designated as a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior, but the significant original access road to the camp was omitted from the NHL nomination form. Because the road borders Big Meadows and is worthy of National Register designation, it is included as part of this nomination despite its slightly disparate history.

Period of Significance and Integrity

The period of significance of these three portions of Shenandoah National Park vary, and expand the original period of significance listed in the original Skyline Drive Historic District National Register of Historic Places form. The period of significance for Skyland is 1890-1952, beginning with the early resort period and extending through National Park Service occupation of the site. When the National Park Service assumed control of the resources and integrated them into Park Service plans and new construction, pre-existing Skyland resort built resources that remain were altered minimally and continue to convey the earliest years of Skyland's period of significance. Lewis Mountian's period of significance extends from 1931 to 1952. This period begins with the early efforts to establish a National Park at Shenandoah and, like Skyland, extends through National Park Service occupation of the site until 50 years ago. Big Meadow's period of significance begins in 1931, the year construction on the Rapidan Road commenced, and like the other sites, continues until 1952, encompassing the significant New-Deal era and park dedication events.

Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows each retain a high degree of integrity to their respective periods of significance and continue to convey these eras, which collectively include pre-park and National Park Service occupation of each site. Skyland's past as an early resort is historically significant, and the remaining cabins from that era successfully convey its earliest years. While most of the remaining cabins have also undergone renovations to accommodate current National Park Service uses primarily for lodging, the majority of changes are interior in nature. New construction by the National Park Service and concessionaires generally respect the Pollock-era buildings by employing similar building materials and siting the buildings in relatively unobtrusive locations. However, Skyland also strongly conveys its use as a Park Service-era lodging and service area. Likewise, Lewis Mountain conveys its use as a Park Service facility. Its rustic architecture, stone retaining walls, and boulder fountains are common elements in National Park Service construction of the 1930s, and the only changes to the site are minor infrastructure alterations. Big Meadows retains its integrity as a historically open space, although the tree line has changed somewhat over the course of time. Despite the fact that the CCC buildings are no longer extant, the meadow area and Rapidan Road continue to convey the area's period of significance. Skyland, Lewis Mountain, and Big Meadows all retain high degrees of integrity to the period of significance and retain their integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.